10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

I did not attempt to collect data on all aspects of Yąnomamö culture. Hans Becher (1960) and Otto Zerries (1964) had already done this. I concentrated, rather, on Yąnomamö social organization, settlement pattern, warfare and ideology and gathered data that would permit me to analyze these aspects of Yąnomamö culture and how they were related to each other in determining marriage practices.

The collection of genealogies proved to be the most important and the most difficult task of my field work. The widespread taboo against saying the names of both the living and the dead found in South America, particularly in the Guiana area, was carried to an extreme by the Yąnomamö. Consequently, much of my time was spent trying to discover which of my informants were giving me erroneous information, a frustrating and time consuming task. It was not unusual to discover after I had spent weeks on particular genealogies working with data provided by crafty informants that I had to disregard most, if not all, of those data. The Indians soon discovered my interest and set about inventing names for everybody in the village--and learning them, making my task all the more difficult when I checked my genealogies with informants from other villages. Thus, I would arrive at what I considered an accurate genealogy for the members of the village I lived in only to be advised by an Indian from another village that most of the names were inventions. I was therefore unable to check the accuracy of the stated relationships between individuals with outside informants

until I devised techniques to overcome this informant reaction. I had ultimately to resort to using informants from other villages to get much of the information, particularly names, about the people with whom I spent most of my time, or, to employ informants who had grudges against individuals within the village; the greatest insult a Yąnomamö can give is to say the name of a person's dead ancestor, and I capitalized on this custom at every opportunity.

Once I obtained accurate names,[1] the task became easier and I was able to use local informants once again, although rarely would they mention names of their dead relatives. Toward the end of my field work I managed to gain the confidence of several older individuals who verified and expanded on information I had collected by more devious means; even so, they themselves would not mention the names of many of the individuals in the genealogies, and I was constrained by my bargain with these informants not to mention the names of any of their closely related dead kinsmen. By utilizing several informants who were not closely related I managed to verify and correct the genealogies of the people with whom I lived, and I am reasonably sure that the information is accurate as far as it goes, although there are probably

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[1] I was satisfied that the name was accurate when I obtained the same name from several of my most trusted informants. The best proof, however, was the reaction of an informant who was related to the deceased. If this informant became angry or upset when I whispered the name in his presence while checking a genealogy, I was reasonably sure that I had the right name.

omissions in ascending generations. The genealogies of individuals from other villages were easier to collect, particularly if my informants had grudges against the members of those villages, but I employed the same techniques in these cases as well.

After I had established the genealogical relationships, I visited the various villages to make estimates of the ages of the individuals, as well as to collect other kinds of information. This was always a touchy business, as the Yąnomamö resent being called by their names, particularly older and more influential individuals. Occasionally I would say the name of an individual who had recently been killed in a raid; this always resulted in an unpleasant and possibly dangerous situation, as most of them were unable to understand why a complete stranger should want to possess such knowledge unless it were for harmful magical purposes. My guides were constantly reminding me not to mention the names of dead people of the villages I visited and of the disastrous consequences that would follow should I fail to heed this advice.

In short, the collection of the genealogies was an unpleasant, full-time task and left very little time for intensive study of other aspects of Yąnomamö culture.

The two monographs dealing with the Yąnomamö mentioned above are quite superficial in their treatment of social organization; to date no intensive analysis of Yąnomamö social organization has been attempted using data

Zerries (1964:19) has included the groups I studied in the Shamatari classification on the basis of information taken from Mahekodotedi informants. The members of these groups, however, deny the Shamatari identity and distinguish themselves from their southern neighbors, some of whom visit them regularly and are married into their villages.

The Shamatari,[1] according to my Bisaasi-tedi informants, take their name from one of the headmen, KayabawÃ ("big tree"), who lived north of the Orinoco River in a village then called ShiohowÃ-tedi. KayabawÃ was an unusually corpulent man and bore a second name, Shamatari, derived from their word (Shama) for the tapir, a large ungulate found throughout tropical South America. Shamatari, when ShiohowÃ-tedi split, led his faction south of the Orinoco River and settled in the headwaters of the river known to the YąnomamÖ as the Shukumõna-u (see above), where his village became known as MokayÃaba-tedi. Other villages, related to ShiowÃ-tedi, moved into the Shukumõna River and Mavaca River basins after Shamatari's village was established, ultimately spreading as far southwest as the Cauabury headwaters in Brazil. The Shamatari expansion into this area took place around the turn of the century, according to my reconstruction of Shamatari history (see below). This is also supported by meagre

[1] There is another "Shamatari" group in the tributaries of the Upper Parima River of Brazil; these are not to be confused with the Shamatari under discussion here, although both groups are YąnomamÖ. See Vinci, 1959, for an impressionistic account of his brief contact with the Parima Shamatari.

*621 162 • 551 613 Lower Bisaasi-tedi inhabitants. (Numbers preceding names correspond to those next to individuals given in genealogies.)

Name of Individual	Patrilineage	Sex	Age	Comments
1. Ahimi	Hor	F	20	
2. Ahimi's son	Sha	M	0.2	
3. Auhewë	Tom	M	25	
4. Auhewë's son	Tom	M	1	
5. Auma	Kio	M	21	
6. Bäkëböwë	Sha	M	29	Becoming headman
7. Bäkëböwë's da.	Sha	F	1	
8. Boarama	Shamatari	F	6	Alliance
9. Bokosiwë	Sha	M	23	
10. Caraca-tedi	Sha	M	3	
11. Didihoma	-	F	5	See p. 213
12. Dimörama	Shamatari	F	20	See p. 213
13. Dodoiwë	Tom	M	52	
14. Heihunioma	Sha	F	19	
15. Hekëwaiyowë	Sha	M	2	
16. Hesiwë	Tom	M	65	
17. Hikarima	Shamatari	F	36	Abducted
18. Hoahemi	Kio	F	52	
19. Huimashima	Sha	F	6	
20. Irokaweikë	Sha	M	20	
21. Kakoma	Sha	F	19	Abducted, see p. 213
22. Kakoma's da.	Kio	F	0.1	
23. Katabema	Shamatari	F	3	See p. 213
24. Kpobauwë	Kio	M	26	
25. Krëömi	Kio	F	20	
26. Mamorakomi	Shamatari	F	34	See p. 214
27. Mamoshiklabema	Tom	M	4	
28. Manasinawë	-	M	56	See p. 214
29. Mioremi	Sha	F	28	
30. Monokoiwë	Tom	M	13	
31. Monomi	Shamatari	F	19	Alliance

	Name of Individual	Patrilineage	Sex	Age	Comments
32.	Monomi's Da.	Tom	F	0.2	
33.	Makakami	Sha	F	56	
34.	Miaiyowë	Sha	M	14	
35.	Omonoiwë	Tom	M	28	
36.	Neromawë	Sha	M	53	Headman
37.	Rosa	Sha	F	8	
38.	Ruwisa	Tom	F	7	
39.	Shiborowë	Shamatari	M	35	See p. 214
40.	Tiaböwë	Shamatari	M	5	See p. 214
41.	Tomahewë	Tom	M	21	
42.	Tomasi	Tom	M	6	
43.	Ugushi	Hor	M	22	
44.	Waiimi	Hor	F	21	
45.	Waiyamobemi	Shamatari	F	19	Alliance
46.	Waiyamobemi's son	Sha	M	0.5	
47.	Waiyuruma	Shamatari	F	50	Abducted
48.	Wakarabewë	Shamatari	M	16	Son-in-law to #6
49.	Yëbënëma	Kio	F	33	
50.	Yareama	Shamatari	F	2	See p. 214
51.	Yotoma	Tom	F	24	

Comments on particular individuals

1. Ahimi. Her present husband (Bokosiwë) visited the Patanowë-tedi within the past 5 years. Ahimi then lived in Patanowë-tedi and was married to a Sha man there (Makoakuwë), by whom she had already had one daughter (Huimashima). When Bokosiwë returned to Bisaasi-tedi, Ahimi followed him, taking her daughter with her, and became Bokosiwë's wife. As the Patanowë-tedi were technically at war with the Bisaasi-tedi, there was not much they could do to recover the woman. As they also wanted to make peace with Bisaasi-tedi, they did not press the matter.

10: Chagnon SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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[For information on club fights as a means of settling disputes between individuals or factions within a village, see category 578.]

11: Chagnon

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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[For information on club fights as a means of settling disputes between individuals or factions within a village, see category 578.]